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# The End the Jew People?

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tough not because they were singled out for harsh treatment but because penal reform had made little impact on the more inhuman restrictions. In prison, some conscientious objectors died; others were certified insane. Mr. Boulton gives a list of seventy-three conscientious objectors who died "as a direct result of the treatment they received in prison or at military hands". Even Graham is careful to avoid such a sweeping accusation. It is true that these men died during or shortly after the war. Some committed suicide, some succumbed (together with a million others) to the flu epidemic of 1918-19, some died accidentally and some were broken in health by poor conditions of life and long imprisonment. In some cases government policy contributed to their deaths, but so did the policy of the extremists in the No-Conscription Fellowship who urged their comrades to reject all government schemes for work out of prison.

Mr. Boulton's failure to produce a balanced and accurate account of these events is explained partly by the point of view from which he writes and partly by his refusal to use the official records. In his notes on sources he states that one of his principal sources has been "War Office and other Government papers". It is the sort of vague claim

his account would no doubt draw from Clifford Allen the same comment, that this leading conscientious objector made on *Conscription and Conscience*: "A bad book but interesting."

One of the weaknesses of Mr. Boulton's book is that he exaggerates the importance of socialism as a source of conscientious objection; pacifism is dismissed as a minority motive. Peter Mayor's selection *The Pacifist Conscience* may be read as a useful corrective. Mr. Mayor has collected a number of the most interesting historical documents of the theory and practice of pacifism and non-resistance. These documents tell us more about the true nature of conscientious objection than the incidents described by G. L. Nam, and Mr. Boulton. Yet one is left with the feeling that there is still more to know. Why, for example, are some conscientious objectors so aggressive? Perhaps it is for the psychiatrist and not the historian to provide an answer.

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## WHO FOLLOWS WHOM

*Art of Our Time.* Edited by Will Grohmann. 509pp. Thames and Hudson. £4.4s.

This anthology of supposedly explanatory essays, planned and assembled by Professor Grohmann, an octogenarian, purports to offer the reader an intelligent account of what has been going on in "Painting and Sculpture throughout the World" between about 1953 and the present. Dr. Grohmann has been one of the most active jurors of international exhibitions in the postwar years, but now he is called in "the younger generation of art critics" to write this book around him, and he wearily admits in a foreword that he no longer knows what standards to apply in judging modern art.

At any international show, the jury is faced with the all but unanswerable question of who is to be invited and who is to get the prizes. The number of young artists has become virtually infinite, the concept of art has expanded beyond all measure, and yet any interference by a jury is regarded as untimely. Everything is art, from works in a legitimate tradition to the most daring experiments with light projections or staged ordered ensembles, and we do not have far to go to the times when mere indications will be given instead of worked-out sketches, indications for a public, whatever its reactions might be.

It seems not to occur to Dr. Grohmann that the responsibility for this present-day state of utter confusion and seemingly unchallengeable rights may lie in the attitude of *laissez faire* adopted since the war by representatives of the international (and national) art "establishments" who have arranged the shows and handed out the money. Had those who presume to "judge" and to write about contemporary art concentrated more on critical standards than on remaining professional avant-gardists, we might be in less of a mess today. It is not difficult to establish a valid distinction between works of art and works of decoration, just as good art can be distinguished from bad. Yet because it is thought illiberal, reactionary and unfashionable nowadays to be selective, everything and anything is quite unjustifiably accepted as a work of art, and as painting and sculpture. There may be art in craftsmanship,

but neither the crafts nor the sciences produce works of art. By no standards should it even have been possible for anyone to consider "daring experiments with light projections", for example, as works of art, any more than the home carpentry of Louise Nevelson, the nonsense machines of Tinguely, the "Aunt Sallies" of Marisol, the Tassardesque tableaux of Segal, the painted puppets of Minujin, or the wire tangles of Kramar should be allowed within the category of either painting or sculpture. They may fall into such categories as decorative art, expensive toys, electrical experiment, fun and games in the home, or whatever. They may be very clever and well made, but works of art they are not. And it is a betrayal of all serious art to put them on the same level.

One of the great sources of weakness of the volume under review is that it has been born of intellectual and aesthetic confusion. Another source of weakness derives from the belief that art, like Esperanto, can be worthwhile when it tries to become a universal language. The basic principle of Esperanto is to make communication possible between human beings by finding the lowest common denominator between a great many vocal sounds having a similar meaning. This is the exact opposite of the spiritual process by which any worthwhile art has ever been produced. The fact that artists in Greece, Israel or Peru are now making imitations of Matisse, Mondrian, Dufuffet or Bacon, that someone in Yugoslavia is imitating Vasarely, or that in 1960 a female painter in Argentina "advised her compatriots to do a period of compulsory military service in Cubism"—whatever that may mean fifty years later!—does not in itself make the contemporary art produced in those countries either significant, good or universally interesting. Would a reasonable person see any merit in a poor imitation of a Balenciaga model made by a dressmaker in, say, Mozambique ten years later? Yet that is the equivalent of the standard by which this volume has been put together. Little attention is paid to the human significance, or human content, of the works involved. What matters most is who is following who, and which is the art capital of the world—as though anyone cared.

The fact that the (unimportant) Unesco Prize was awarded in 1960 to a Greek artist by an international jury at the Venice Biennale spurs Mr. Dimitris A. Fatouros on to claim

that "Greek art is undoubtedly on the upgrade today". Mr. Alan Bowness, closing his eyes to wars, famine and assassinations, asserts that it "is impossible to pretend that the world is not a much sadder place" in the 1960s than ever before and exalts the merits of paintings for which he cannot claim more than that they are "allegories of visual understanding, asking questions about the semantics of art". Since when must we look upon books of grammar or anatomical text-books as meaningful and serious works of literature? All this is highly unreal and superficial. Nowhere in this volume is the important late work of Picasso and Braque so much as discussed, yet the "Studios" of the latter and the "Dejeuners" of the former are artistically of far greater human and artistic significance than anything that is included. Marcel Duchamp figures largely; but then his is today a fashionable name to throw around, even though he has produced nothing for forty years. It is also strange that a volume which purports on its title-page to cover "Painting and Sculpture throughout the world" and which takes in Poland, Yugoslavia, Venezuela and Finland does not go into the art being produced in Russia, Canada or any of the Arab countries. For those who want long lists of names and dates, woven into a tangle of jargon, superficialities, pious hopes and market-gossip, this unwieldy book will no doubt fill a need. But they must be prepared to put up with this kind of thing:

Each time that one finds himself in the presence of a painting by Jean Dewasne, one is arrested by a physical presence that extends Mondrian's philosophical vision into the perspective of delirium that of an exacerbated sensibility that turns away from nostalgia to affirm a violent and systematic love of modern life. But what is modern life? According to Plaqueras, a compartmentalization of contradictions. According to Dewasne "a humanity of prodigious possibilities".

"The World", apart from those vast areas not covered, has been parcelled out by the editor as sixteen lots, each of which gets an essay. If every contributor had kept his summary as brief and as much to the point as Yona Fischer willing on Israel Art, the volume would have been more realistic and critically superior. It is most elaborately illustrated with 334 plates in black and white, and 128 in colour. This should facilitate the choice and prize band-out for any forthcoming biennale.

## BLACK BEAUTY

MICHEL LEIRIS and JACQUELINE DELANGE: *Afrique noire: la création plastique.* 450pp. Paris: Gallimard. 120 fr.

FRANK WILKETT: *Life in the History of West African Sculpture.* 232pp. Thames and Hudson. £4.4s.

*Afrique noire: la création plastique* by Michel Leiris and Jacqueline Delange is a very pleasant surprise. Visually, this is by far the most attractive book on African art to have appeared so far. Instead of giving us a series of over-ill, slickly photographed museum pieces, the book places African art in its context. In addition to actual carvings, brass figures, masks, stone or mud sculptures, we are introduced to architecture, mural painting, landscape, ritual, people, hair-styles and body painting. Instead of the refined and academic dignity of most books on the subject, we are here being plunged into a kind of total visual experience of Africa.

The text is quite lively up to the same standard. The subject is of course worked out. Even a scholar of the magnitude of Michel Leiris cannot change the fact that the time for generalizations on African art has passed. We are beginning to know too much about some of these countries and what is really needed now are detailed monographs on more specialized subjects. For a discussion of African sculpture, it is nevertheless fascinating, particularly this Leiris' analysis of the "pragmatic meaning of the word used for beauty" in many African languages. Jacqueline Delange has supplied the book with a useful survey of the different uses and their art-forms, as well as a very full bibliography.

Frank Wilkett's book *Life in the History of West African Sculpture* is much more the kind of book we need. It is a survey of the history of African sculpture, from the prehistoric to the modern, and includes a very full bibliography.

scholar speaks authoritatively about one particular culture. An understanding of this particular culture, that of ancient life, will greatly help all future studies of African art and history. The strange, bronzes and terracottas, the first of which were discovered by Leo Frobenius, have given rise to much speculation. Their naturalistic style, totally unlike anything known in the rest of Africa, has astonished many scholars to believe that these heads were made by a travelling European craftsman, or that they were the result of a small group of invaders from the Mediterranean subduing the local population and installing themselves in it. The author brings conclusive evidence that these art-works were made by the Yorubas of Ife and he is able to link them not only with neighbouring cultures like Benin and Nigeria, but also with the much older and more sophisticated Nok culture. The author's photographic documentation in this book enables us to see the art in the wider context of Nigerian history. Frank Wilkett's story of the various discoveries of these bronzes and terracottas, his account of Yoruba art, the tentative dating, his comparisons with other cultures, are all presented soberly and convincingly. The detailed beauty and detail of the bronzes and terracottas, the heads and figures, are shown in a way that makes one feel that they are indeed the work of a great civilization. The book is a very full bibliography.

## CZECH COMPOSERS

JARMI BURGHAEUSER: *Not only Monuments.* Prague: Panton (Publishers of the Union of Czechoslovak Composers). 9.50 Kcs.

In Czechoslovakia the common man has been progressively alienated from his country's great composers by a monumental facade of hero-worship. Smetana suffered most in this way because he became the victim of a cult of which Zdeněk Nejedlý was arch-priest and which, if it had been continued, might have succeeded in killing him for successive generations. In the feud between the supporters of Smetana and Dvořák, Nejedlý identified himself passionately with the former and, when he finally emerged triumphant as the Czechoslovak Minister of Culture after the war, many of Dvořák's supporters, including his greatest interpreter Václav Talich, found themselves set on one side.

An attempt to scale down to life size the greatest Czech composers has now been undertaken by a leading Dvořák scholar and composer, Jarmil Burghaeuser, who has continued the life work of his father-in-law, the eminent Dvořák scholar, Otakar Sourek, and is himself the author of a valuable *Thematic Catalogue* of Dvořák's works which every lover of that composer should possess.

The three Czech composers chosen are Smetana, Dvořák and Fibich. Mr. Burghaeuser justifies his exclusion of Janáček on the ground that he is really a twentieth-century composer, while the others belong to the nineteenth. The idea of bringing together three composers who were contemporaries but of differing age groups, and of tabulating their individual characteristics, from their appearance and habits to the state of their bank balances, is rewarding, even if some details appear trivial (like their favourite dishes).

It always seemed that Dvořák was a small stocky figure of a man but surprisingly he was much the taller of the three, measuring nearly five foot ten inches. Most students of Czech music know that Smetana was lively and temperamental, whereas Dvořák was quiet, withdrawn and suspicious, but they might not know that Smetana in his youth was a successful mimic and extrovert whereas Dvořák's monosyllabic, aphoristic conversation made him appear odd in society. Smetana loved dancing and playing all kinds of card games, whereas Dvořák's hobbies were pigeons, gardening and railway engines.

Concern with personal idiosyncrasies of the composers should not be allowed to obscure the valuable musical criticism which this book contains. Indeed one of its best features is Mr. Burghaeuser's masterly summary of the musical development of all three composers, expounded composition by composition.

It is, of course, the third composer on whom our interest centres: Zdeněk Fibich is little known outside Bohemia but is much esteemed here, although he never achieved the immense status and popularity of Dvořák and Smetana. He wrote a number of successful operas which are still in the Prague National Theatre repertoire, including *The*

## Fiction

## BLEEDING HEARTS

CHRISTINA STEAD: *Cotters' England.* 352pp. Secker and Warburg. 35s. *For Love Alone.* 502pp. Angus and Robertson. 32s. 6d.

Christina Stead has been writing novels at regular, if not frequent, intervals since the 1930s. *For Love Alone* was first published in 1944 and has been reprinted recently. It is a long but not verbose study of an Australian girl's obsession for a graduate student whom she follows all the way to London. The same concentration on a central theme and a similar interest in people's emotional attitudes to their fellow-men are in her latest novel, *Cotters' England*, which came out last year in America and now makes its debut here.

Where *For Love Alone* is flawed by a somewhat obvious plot and a sentimental approach, *Cotters' England* has an interestingly different kind of heroine and a much tougher slant. "And so you dabble in their lives as if their lives were puddles, just to cool off your emotions a bit, Nell," is how the behaviour of the heroine, Nell Cook (née Colter), is summed up to her by her brother Tom. He could not have described her activities better. Nell works peculiarly on a left-wing paper while her husband George swans around abroad in I.L.O. national organizations like the S.P.A. She lives in a seedy East End house which she fills with women she collects and

binds to her with a choking intensity. "I want them to come to me and learn, come to me," she tells Tom. "I can teach them that there is only one way, and they must find it in pain, but I can help," and she shakes off his accusation that "if you introduce them to them for a hundred years you'd never know anything about them".

The background to the Cotters, the place where Nell began her pattern of lurid rhetoric, misplaced idealism and total meddling, is depressed Bridgehead, and we return there for horrifying glimpses (these are some of the best scenes in the book) of a

senile mother, a pathetic old uncle and a distraught spinster sister. But the spine of the book is Nell's. The different episodes and characters, which trip off Christina Stead's pen as readily as endearments like "chick" and "pet" run from Nell's tongue, are there only to enhance her presence. She is an extraordinary creation, a paranoid vampire with a heart of gold and though the details about her are often slightly ridiculous and somehow unconvincing—her asphyxiating cough and daily rows with her editor about the essential truths blue-pencilled from her copy—she is convincingly alive. She carries the book.

## LOOSE UPPER LIP

ROBIN COOK: *Public Parts and Private Places.* 208pp. Hutchinson. 25s.

Mr. Cook is keeping up his crusade against the English upper middle classes. In *The Legacy of the Stiff Upper Lip*, old Etonians were held responsible for the poverty in Extremadura, Spain. In his new book, set in London and Sussex, the upper middle class is more resolutely on the decline, and even less convincing as a serious threat to Mr. Cook's well-meant liberalism. The trouble is that the characters he selects to represent the middle classes are hardly representative: an old man numbed after a stroke, a middle-aged homosexual who sells dirty pictures in Soho, an ex-bed who poses for them with filthy lorry-drivers. Mr. Cook lays in to his puny targets with vigorous aggression, and can now and then be funny. His eye for the paraphernalia of class ritual is certainly competent, and the dialogue and manners are authentic enough: the novel just about passes as mild, though inconsequential entertainment.

sentative: an old man numbed after a stroke, a middle-aged homosexual who sells dirty pictures in Soho, an ex-bed who poses for them with filthy lorry-drivers. Mr. Cook lays in to his puny targets with vigorous aggression, and can now and then be funny. His eye for the paraphernalia of class ritual is certainly competent, and the dialogue and manners are authentic enough: the novel just about passes as mild, though inconsequential entertainment.

## BACK TO THE LAND

EA DE QUEIROZ: *The City and the Mountains.* Translated from the Portuguese by Roy Campbell. 27pp. Athens: Ohio University Press. \$4.50.

In translation this novel is not likely to enhance de Queiroz's spreading reputation. Behind the English words a certain cool stylistic wit in the original can be perceived, but Roy Campbell's heroic attempt to keep a flavour of Portuguese idiom without straining, natural English fails to work directly. Jacinto, the son of an expatriate Portuguese prince, is born and educated in Paris, where he devotes his vast fortune to the creation of a life-pattern which is to be the acme of civilization. Skillfully, de Queiroz shows us the electrical wonders of modern science (and it is proof of his extraordinary skill that the gadgetry of Edison's heyday can still, eighty years later, strike the reader as technologically exciting rather than quaint) in the hands of a man who, by bad luck, so that his machinery goes dramatically and inconveniently wrong, his parties are "economic operatives" is sent to the country of the Baraburu. There is complete misunderstanding between the local natives, who are at a very early stage of evolution, and the members of the "mission". Eventually all the members of the "mission", except for the narrator, are killed and

ways from losing his precious baggage, and the prince finds himself forced to taste peasant and squirearchical life without the protection of his costly Parisian veneer. Of course, it improves his health, un-jades his palate, restores his nerve, provides him with an unsophisticated wife, and secures his happy future. A simple

structure, and de Queiroz's main interest seems to have been to exercise his virtuosity. A university press should surely have realized that many readers would like to be told the year in which the novel was written and, in this particular case, the year in which Campbell completed his translation.

## GONE TO POT

OLIVIERO CIGADA: *Nel paese dei Baraburu.* 133pp. Milan: Sugar. L.1,000.

This is a very witty and macabre satire on a post-colonial African state. It would cause the deepest offence to native Africans, were they able to read Italian—but as the European languages they know are mainly English or French they are unlikely to pick it out. A mission of Italian "economic operatives" is sent to the country of the Baraburu. There is complete misunderstanding between the local natives, who are at a very early stage of evolution, and the members of the "mission". Eventually all the members of the "mission", except for the narrator, are killed and

eat. We are, of course, reminded of prewar Evelyn Waugh, and, as a satirist, Signor Cigada can almost stand up to the comparison. The trouble is that the target is a very easy one to hit. Signor Cigada is Milanese—that is to say, he was born into one of the most industrially sophisticated centres in the world. One would have liked him to show some mercy and a deeper awareness of the problem of developed and undeveloped countries on whose coexistence the future of mankind depends. He is still under thirty and his talent is obvious. As he gets older he may get more charitable.

## MINDING HIS PS

AXEL JENSEN: *Epp.* Translated from the Norwegian by Oliver Stallybrass. 116pp. Chatto and Windus. 15s.

Few serious writers have succeeded in exploiting the science fiction idiom so effectively, but Axel Jensen's *Epp* is an unqualified success. A paternalistic but pleasant home for old people provides him with a perfect vehicle for this perceptive, cool, and witty novel.

Epp is a retired wallpaper hanger and a society where class is denoted by the number of letters comprising one's name. Epp occasionally shares his name with the young nephew of his wife, but the rank of Eppen seems too high to hope for—though Epp would be a terrible disappointment.

insect-eating pot-plant, or the exact boiling of his daily egg—content Epp's narrow mind. His neighbour Lem, who madly wishes to break down the barriers between the pensioners and establish sociable community patterns, arouses Epp's profound hostility, contempt, and fear.

## MONK BUSINESS

JOSEPH MARTINDALE: *Found Wanting.* 206pp. New Authors. 25s.

Mr. Martindale writes of the near-two years spent by Brother Martin as a novice, aged about 17½ to begin with, in a monastic order. At an early stage of his seclusion Brother Martin finds in himself a streak of rebelliousness, an invincible reluctance to submerge his own personality. When, for example, Brother Albert bores his class during A-level English—Wordsworth's *Prelude*—Brother Martin cannot help showing he is bored and, what is worse, cannot help showing he resents it when he is reprimanded. If the fault lies with Brother Albert, Brother Martin has to say so. Brother Albert, of course, finds this deplorable unmonkish. So does the Abbot, and it is not long before Martin is expelled, with a testimonial that admits

Lem's final escape, when an enforced holiday leads him to marriage ("We're the same age, Epp. We live in hope. She's not beautiful. But I find her beautiful"), is incomprehensible to Epp. And so are his humane political views. Epp's prison of old age is available to us all.

he is intelligent and good at cricket. The description of monastic life is vivid, unemphatic and absorbing. The remoteness of that life—they might all of them be living in some remote and lonely cave with St. Augustine or Hippo for their nearest neighbour—is well conveyed, so that it comes as a shock when the whole crew of them are packed into a coach and taken up to London to feast on the wonders of the Victoria and Albert Museum. This remoteness unfortunately brushes off on to the characterization. The insufferably holy Brother Benedict, for example, or the sooty and endearing Brother Cupertino—they are seen, somehow, at a distance, and when Mr. Martindale gives them anything to say, come to us from far away.

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## DISILLUSION IN THE MONSOON MUD

BERNARD B. FALL: *Hell in a Very Small Place. The Siege of Dien Bien Phu.* 515pp. Pall Mall Press. £2 15s.

When Colonel Jules Roy wrote his eloquent and moving *Battle of Dien Bien Phu* in 1963, it was said that the book came as near to the truth as would be possible until the secret archives were opened. Sufficient of those archives were made available to the late Professor Fall to enable him to write a substantially more complete account only three years later. He does not, as he says himself, close every information gap about the battle, but he tells the story blow by blow in as much detail as we are likely to need, objectively, and with a wealth of documentation. Some of his political conclusions will none the less long be debated. The book thus stands as a fitting memorial not only to the scholarship of Bernard Fall, but also to his passionate involvement in the problem which so tragically cost him his life six months ago.

The incredible politico-military blundering which underlay the Dien Bien Phu disaster is already well known. Professor Fall takes it a stage farther back than is customary. When the victory of Mao Tse-tung in China engaged the United States on the side of allies whose "colonialist" wars had not previously measured up to American moral standards, it became an understanding between the Allies in Korea that nobody would, unilaterally, make peace with a Communist enemy.

The *quid pro quo* of that agreement was that the French broke off negotiations under way with the Viet Minh, while the United States began to assume an ever increasing part of the financial burden of the Indo-China War.

In 1953, however, the United States unilaterally made peace in Korea. The record does not yet show whether France protested, but at least she felt free to make her own peace in Indo-China and promptly said that she would do so. There were therefore logical limits to the plan of campaign for the next two years which General Navarre, as the new commander in Indo-China, presented to Paris in July, 1953, although nobody appears to have been very clear about this.

The French will to peace was reinforced when in September a Vietnamese Congress in Saigon declared independence *outside* the French Union as the national aim. There could now be no certainty that even victory would preserve French interests in Indo-China; the reason for continuing the costly struggle had departed. This is, however, only half the story, as Victor Bator in *Vietnam: a Diplomatic Tragedy* has recently explained. A French victory, or at any rate the continuation

of the struggle against the Communists in Indo-China, was very much a United States interest now that the fighting had stopped in Korea. In his election campaign Eisenhower had undertaken to bring the boys home from Korea. Unlike the United States Navy and Air Force, the Army relied on conscripted manpower. "The boys" were thus electrically important. But on the other hand the new President had also sworn to roll back the tide elsewhere. For this to be done others had to be persuaded to fight. With his administration already under pressure for "appeasement" in Korea, Eisenhower accordingly sought to step up the pressure in Indo-China. In the very same month of September, when the French saw their reason for fighting disappear, they agreed to increase their efforts in return for more United States material and money.

With American advisers now in the field, American enthusiasm was more heavily, of course, on Navarre in Saigon than on the government in Paris. The loyalty of Laos to the French connexion, brought into contrast with the attitudes of Vietnam and Cambodia when Laos signed its treaty with France in October, also presented a problem; for it was soon clear that the Viet Minh intended a further massive invasion of the country during the coming dry weather. This could not be warded off by the limited operations to which Navarre was pledged.

From this double dilemma it came about that the relatively minor operation of occupying Dien Bien Phu as a raiding base in the Tongking uplands was transformed into the deliberate set-piece battle by which the French expected to crack the Viet Minh. The author shows us how this occurred and examines the disagreements and misunderstandings between the French military leaders which seriously affected their subsequent cooperation. Important disagreements were, for if they had ended differently defeat might have been avoided. The essential was that times had changed. The end of the Korean fighting had freed Chinese material effort—if not volunteers—for use in Indo-China, as had been foreseen. The French knew the large numbers of men whom the Viet Minh had available, but they had hitherto been able to counter superior numbers with their guns and air power. They assumed that they would do so again, that they could easily neutralize or destroy such field guns as the enemy could drag through the mountainous jungle to Dien Bien Phu, and that their air reinforcement and ground support operations would be immune

from interference. They counted without the anti-like devotion of the Viet Minh which set a mass of guns in invulnerable emplacements, and also without the moral effect of prolonged operations on their own troops, over a fifth of whom would break in action. In short, they fatally underestimated their enemy. The preparations were made—ill-named—the confident anticipation of victory within days of the first Viet Minh assault, and on March 13, 1954, the battle started. In right weeks of fire and heroism Dien Bien Phu died, starved and finally collapsed in monsoon mud. The disaster had the fascinating inevitability of a classical tragedy in which the hubris, the overweening arrogance, of the hero himself is the cause of his inescapable doom. Professor Fall's account illuminates the separate actions of the battle and also the battle as a whole. It is an indispensable source for students of military history and is likely to be the standard work for some time.

Even as the military scene was set, the French had thankfully agreed to discuss an Indo-Chinese political settlement at the conference on the Korean War which was to be held at Geneva in April, 1954. Navarre, in the delusion of victory, had encouraged his government to think that the military situation would significantly have improved by then. But the Viet Minh had seen that with the Chinese help that was now available they could attain a decisive superiority of field guns, men and above all anti-aircraft at Dien Bien Phu. Any sacrifice was worth a conventional victory over the French before Geneva. Ho Chi Minh accepted the battle he was offered.

The French eventually realized that they were in for a tough fight. Before the battle began, the French Defence Minister, perturbed at over-optimism in the United States which "seemed to count on the possibility of a fairly rapid military solution", sent his Chief of Staff, General Ely, to Washington. During Ely's visit the power and invulnerability of the Viet Minh artillery at Dien Bien Phu, and the intensity of the anti-aircraft fire—made possible by Chinese material

and advisers—clearly showed itself. "It became readily foreseeable that the Chinese flak would bring disaster to Dien Bien Phu just as readily as Chinese MiGs", whose possible intervention the Americans were already, it appears, prepared to offset. The United States therefore offered "brief American action against the Communist flak positions".

While the French government, with some misgivings, decided to accept what appeared to be a firm American offer, which the author is convinced, included atomic bombs, the proposal ran into political trouble in Washington. When the eager Dulles put it to a bi-partisan group of legislators, he was told that the U.S. Congress would only agree to United States intervention if it were sponsored by a coalition, if the French agreed to speed up independence for the Indo-China states and if they also undertook to stay in the war. Many bitter exchanges and much acrimonious debate ensued between the Allies at all levels, while military planning between French and American staffs went ahead. Britain was dead against intervention, France was in two minds; so, when it came to the point, was the United States.

Not to attempt to save the French at Dien Bien Phu was ultimately, as it should have been, a wholly American decision, and at the highest level. Yet, almost as soon as the decision had been taken, there began a hardly subtle process of blaming the whole failure on Britain.

This was of course the deliberate policy of the frustrated Dulles, whose animosity towards Sir Anthony Eden was to have more serious consequences at Suez two years later. From the analogy of the results of American bombing in South Vietnam in 1965 and 1966, from French commanders' statements since the battle and from his own analysis, Professor Fall concludes that "air power on a more massive scale than was available" would have saved Dien Bien Phu, although it could not have changed the outcome of the Indo-China War. These conclusions are highly debatable both separately and together, although the author's account of the battle gives us stronger arguments for air interven-

tion than do most of its predecessors. But in any case military effectiveness was not the point at issue. Eden's agreement—that if American air power were used, particularly at night, there would be no peace. This might be an American interest, but French and British were mainly interested in ending it. This aim must not be compromised by a tactical situation, however painful.

Furthermore the Korean fighting was not yet a year away. In contrast with the situation today, China was a non-nuclear power, with 12 Russian backing ran like a tide. Nobody could therefore say that it was unlikely to intervene with great troops; and if she did, American ground troops would certainly have been necessary even if their commitment had been avoided in the aftermath of unsuccessful air strikes at Dien Bien Phu. Eisenhower at last had to be blamed for his reluctance in this respect. France had used her own conscripts in Indo-China. She had sent, and lost, a great many of her young leaders. Hence, Professor Fall's statistics showed that the 15,105 officers and men killed at Dien Bien Phu, only 2,800 less than a fifth, were metropolitan Frenchmen. There were nearly 400 Foreign Legionaries, but the remainder were colonial troops. With it honour therefore to those who suffered at Dien Bien Phu—indeed the one-fifth who were French—with every understanding for bitterness, the United States might well have asked why she should have to send her own conscripts to die in Indo-China when France's self was fighting so largely by proxy.

The real question is this: whether American air power could have saved Dien Bien Phu. Whether Dien Bien Phu was the political risks which heavy bombing would have entailed. It depends the validity of some of the author's criticisms of American air policy, but he does not do with it. It may be that nobody can until the political and military account of the Second Indo-China War is also part of history.

## OUT OF THIS WORLD

IRVING LOUIS HOROWITZ: *Three Worlds of Development.* 475pp. Oxford University Press. £3.

This is a barbarous book—barbarous, that is, in the sense antithetical to civilized, polished, refined, urbane. To say as much is in no way to disparage the competence, diligence and intelligence of the author; he obviously has these qualities in abundance. But his book signally lacks elegance of thought and expression. This inevitably detracts seriously from its merit, for the casualness is incisiveness. If it was only a question of the prose style this might not be a fatal flaw, for there are masterpieces whose insights have laboriously to be reconstructed from tortured prose. But here it is not simply a matter of the language and syntax, for at times the narrative itself gives the impression of having been compiled on Burroughs-like principles by shuffling the filing cards of (of which, it may be said, Professor Horowitz clearly possesses a considerable collection).

The book's sub-title is "The Theory and Practice of International Stratification". Its purpose, according to the jacket notes, is to consider development in "all (sic) its aspects—social, political, economic, military, and psychological". There are four parts. The first is an introduction to the Third World, including a discussion of the concept of "development". The second considers the Old World—the "First World" (the United States) and the "Second World" (the Soviet Union)—and Third World perceptions of, and reactions to, them. The following section returns to the Third World in order to explore in depth a number of its characteristics (such as the "dominance of the military in social and political life"). Finally, the fourth part, entitled "Toward a General Theory of Development and Revolution", advances a number of general propositions related to social structure and political change, after having subjected the "works" of several "great theorists of development" to critical examination.

Professor Horowitz considers his position to be a radical one. He feels that his book "... will have a greater appeal to those who live and work in poor countries than to those who thrive off the limited affluence found in the wealthy countries". It is true that in 450 pages of text the reader will come across a number of statements and arguments that an American readership would find left-wing, perhaps even daring. For example he says that "... the national liberation front has been the major stimulus to successful popular reform and revolutionary movements in the Third World nations". But this isn't quite what it seems, for it appears on further reading that Professor Horowitz considers India, for instance, an example of a country which has had a successful liberation struggle and a "fully-developed" revolution from below. That is an extraordinary judgment, and betrays the flimsiness of the "theoretical leftism" of the author. It is hard to envisage Professor Horowitz replacing Frantz Fanon as the prophet of the Third World.

Professor Horowitz's analysis and conclusions invite a number of major disagreements. The author talks about the Third World as a "Third Force" and a "Third Position". This view, whatever the evidence that once may have appeared to justify it, is no longer tenable. As Conor Cruise O'Brien has said: "Instead of thinking of a non-aligned Third World, it would be more realistic to think in terms of a world-wide capitalist economy of which the supposedly non-aligned countries form an integral part, and considered as a whole, a profitable part. Objectively, their non-alignment represents an enlightened tolerance, by the controllers of the capitalist economy, of unlimited verbal rights in independence and socialism. Where, as occasionally happens, the rights are something more than verbal, varying degrees of indulgence may be shown in practice, but any serious departure from true non-alignment, as

interpreted in Washington, is likely to result in the conjuring up of a communist strong man. If this continues ... the independence of non-aligned countries is likely to resemble increasingly that of the American countries. O. W. B. (ed.), *Nonalignment*, Aldine, London, 1966, pages 131-132.

Professor Horowitz never, in the makes anything like an adequate analysis of neo-colonialism. Incidentally, there is another extraordinary judgment about India: "The Way of Sweden bears more than superficial resemblance to the Third World of India." Does it? How? In what respects? We are none the less.

Discussion of the Sino-Soviet relationship and its international implications and repercussions is a necessary, surely the question now is where Russia would stand in the event of a China-America conflict not where China would stand in the event of a Russia-America conflict. It is true to state that Russian political, economic and military aid has been on the side of revolutionary forces? Does this category include the Indonesian Army which, both into the most powerful military force in Asia by Russian and American arms, designated the PKI and working-class and peasant movements? Does it include the Chinese Indian government through Professor Horowitz's Appendix B "The Trajectory of Totalitarianism to Authoritarianism" speculates on the "demise" of Leninism in the "demise" of the New York Times and quotes the New York Times and more like the president of a Communist corporation than a Communist politician. In the U.S.S.R. revisionism in the pro-Russian Communist elsewhere and the substantial found changes on the international scene.

## SPECULATION IS NOT HISTORY

ALBERT SOBOUT: *Paysans, sans-culottes et Jacobins. Etudes d'histoire révolutionnaire.* 386pp. Paris: Librairie Clavreuil.

Professor Sobout's scholarship, in its French rigour and assiduity, splendidly attests in its long apprenticeship and craftsman's finish, towers above the catch-as-catch-can impressionism and pigmy perception that so often pass for brilliance among us. His art (and that craft which is so frequently sullen first in its own transcendence. On first immersion (at least in this quality) one does not possess one has the impression of sheer, self-evident *reportage*. The coming accumulation of significant detail, the extraordinary range, the resolute exclusion of self create the overwhelming sensation of a final dissolution of truth.

It is not, strictly speaking, the full recreation of a reality, the re-living of an experience; its very *scientism* forbids that. For such, one has to turn to a writer like Richard Cobb, bred in the same discipline and nourished on similar evidence, who is, on the contrary, passionately, even violently, subjective and who in consequence recreates the world (or to be objective, a possible world) of the *armées révolutionnaires* in a style which grabs the reader by the throat and shakes him out of his time, burns an image (even a taste and a smell) on his mind. Professor Sobout's achievement is equally impressive but of a quite different order. The very elimination of the historian makes him the more obtuse. There is something akin to a Brechtian V-effect. His work is, in essence, an effort at total analysis (rigidly restricted to the specifically documented) framed as narrative. The most elemental (and elementary) human acts and passions are subjected to the same kind of implicitly sympathetic but detached examination as the most complicated. He sometimes leaves an impression of the clinical analysis of an orgy. Subjects which scream for comment (some comment, at least) pass by in apparent silence. The silence is only apparent, of course, for the comment is in the totality of the work. Professor Sobout is most truly a Marxist in the sense that one has to keep him whole before one can get

at his parts. Ultimately, and perhaps paradoxically, his history takes on the qualities and limitations of an original document. The effect can be quite remarkable, particularly for a reader bred in Anglo-Saxon traditions (if such words can be applied to the haphazard exposure we call training). Like a needle shower, it is at once stimulating and irritating.

Take one of the dozen seminal articles Professor Sobout reprints in this collection—"Classes populaires et Rousseauisme". This is a penetrating examination of the so-called Rousseauism of the *sans-culottes*. The existence of the "Rousseauism" is proven, its sources and "channels" sought. Everything which can be documented is scrutinized—the evidence of Mercier and other writers, of arrest papers, journals, pamphlets; *colporteurs*, boxes, are rummaged. The article is a gem. But there is a resolute refusal to go beyond the straitly documented. Even English and American artisans, given the right circumstances—the English dearth of 1795, the Philadelphia inflation crisis of 1780—could talk "pure Rousseau". Rousseau's family background—so similar to, say, Duplay's, the "cabinet-maker" of property with whom Robespierre lodged, or for that matter, to Ben Loxley's, Franklin's Philadelphia technician who called himself a *sans-culotte*, or to that of scores of English artisan Jacobins—is curiously described, but there is no serious attempt to seek the meaning of this peculiar resonance of Rousseau among artisans. In truth, the *sans-culottes* reception of Rousseau seems very similar to British artisans' reception of Paine—it was a shock of recognition. The kind of country opened up by speculation of this type is shunned.

Speculation is not history: witness the author's lively piece on popular religious cults during the Revolution. Once again, what can be documented, what can be anchored, pinned down, is treated with consummate mastery. But in this field above all, surely, it is impossible to avoid speculation. Curiously

enough, for the student of the author of *La Grande peur* and for the historian who established the *autonomy* of the *sans-culotte* movement, there seems to be a certain reluctance to accord popular irrationality its full validity as evidence. Professor Sobout seems more at home with the objectively concrete (to coin a phrase). One is left, even in his most masterful exercises, with the sense of a missing dimension. If only he could sometimes lose his temper and not relegate Pierre Duroquet, the simple, impressive man of Section Marat so sickeningly executed as a *héroïsme*, to his footnote; if only he could, on occasion, throw his *honnêteté* over the hedge. No one knows more and understands the more of *sans-culotterie* than he does: would that he were sometimes more subjective and less scientific.

The biggest paradox of all is that this refusal to speculate operates within the terms of what, after all, the most massive speculation of them all—the assumptions of Marxism, and a rather orthodox Marxism at that. Many of the articles in this collection are devoted to an examination of the "contradictions" in the *sans-culottes* Jacobin alliance and within *sans-culotterie* itself. The author's major conclusions, of course, are argued decisively. But one jibs at a certain rigidity. The line between *sans-culottes* and Jacobins sometimes seems too tightly drawn, even as criteria shift. Chaler in Lyons in the early summer of 1793 was preaching a programme which in Paris is called *enragé*. Norman Hanpison has noted a kind of "fusion" in many provincial cities in the civil war atmosphere of that year; there is similar evidence from the post-Thermidor period, after the Robespierist incubus had been removed; so many of the "contradictions" seem to be common to so many groups, even, as Professor Sobout points out, to the *enragés* Jacques Roux and his concept of property. Under Richard Cobb's hands, in the *armées*, these categories, as the Revolution imposes its own mobile logic, dissolve like water under a microscope. Professor Sobout's treat-

ment of some *sans-culottes* hostility to the forty-sous subsidy paid by the Convention to poor assembly-men, as evidence of a "class" division both within *sans-culotterie* and between the former and the bourgeoisie, does little to clear away confusion.

Above all, it seems self-defeating to define *sans-culotterie* in terms of nineteenth-century industrial "class"—the author explains its nature and its contradictions in terms of its "non-class" character in this sense. He makes the point that *sans-culotterie* was a social morality and explores the contradictory corollaries, but ties himself up in this irrelevant straitjacket. In truth, such procedures do not seem very Marxist. The "objective reality", starting point for any Marxist surely, was an elemental coherence and at least a conceptual unity to the *sans-culotte* movement, despite all contradictions: it is a type of unity we find almost inassimilable, probably because essentially pre-industrial. For a Marxist, this existence and validity should be the starting point: it is un-Marxist to explain away its contradictions as symptoms of its immaturity. *Sans-culotterie* was no more a failed class than English artisan Jacobinism was a failed Labour Movement. Only Leninist revisionism can make these linear evolutions Marxist—even if it strengthens the author's superbly effective *political*, as opposed to social, analysis. Possibly Gramsci's preoccupation with "subaltern" classes and "hegemony" would have been more effective. At any rate, Professor Sobout's brand of Marxism cannot be said to help him much. Indeed, one cannot miss a certain *dissociation* between his major symphonic themes and the little Marxist overtures and codas with which he introduces and closes them.

All this, however, is simply to say that, like all first-class history, Professor Sobout's opens as many doors as it closes. This collection of his important articles is a splendid sample of his work and ought to be translated as soon as possible.

Nearly half the book is devoted to those rural studies which were the author's first and abiding interest; incisive as they are, they will probably engage attention less than those on topics related to Professor Sobout's great book on the Parisian *sans-culottes*, the studies of popular militants and Jacobins, of problems of labour in Year II of the Republic, of the wage-maximum and Thermidor, of Robespierre and the popular societies (thou Maximilien la Cruel, as Babeuf called him, can be anything but a villain to any true *sans-culotte* passes one's understanding). This concentration of interest, unfair though it be, is in the last resort just. For Professor Sobout has rediscovered a whole world which had been lost. He has added a whole dimension of the historiography of the Revolution. He not only sustains and enhances a great tradition of history: he has also helped to redirect the course of historical study itself. British historians should take possession of his work, even if it leads some of us wryly to wonder whether we need another 1066.

Gallimard, Paris, have published *Le Gai savoir: fragments posthumes (1881-1882)* (607pp. 35fr.) in their series "Friedrich Nietzsche. Oeuvres philosophiques complètes". It consists of fragments which have been assembled and put into chronological order by Giorgio Colli and Massimo Montinari from the Nietzsche papers in the Goethe and Schiller Archiv at Weimar. This edition of *Die Frühe Wissenschaft*, first published by Walter de Gruyter, Berlin, has been translated by Pierre Klossowski, under the general editorship of Gilles Deleuze and Michel Foucault. Some of the fragments were originally published in mutilated form by Nietzsche's wife Elizabeth and by Peter Gast; some, however, have never appeared before. This volume is to be followed by several others of unpublished material, leading to Nietzsche's breakdown in 1889.

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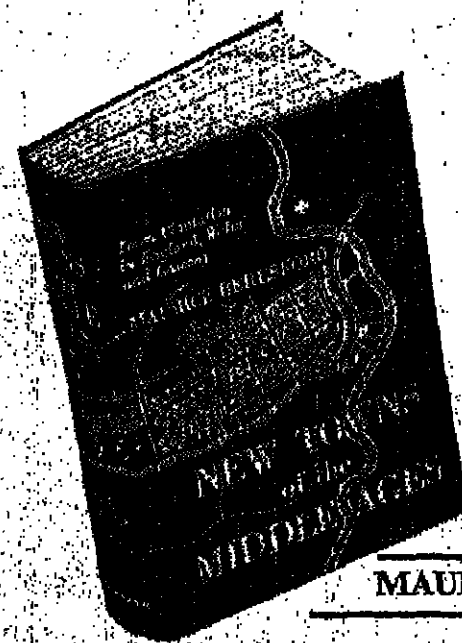
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THE PRAGUE OF THE 1920s is to many the city of Kafka, the city which we can half discern as the background of *The Trial*. Its drab streets, contrasting dramatically with the breath-taking spectacle of the baroque palaces and gothic towers of the old city, are vividly recalled in the memoirs of the Czech poet Vítězslav Nezval, himself one of the central figures in the brilliant poetical movement that characterized the two decades of the first Czechoslovak Republic. To Nezval and his contemporaries this was a time of hope: not for them the existentialist nightmares of Kafka's world. "The government of their own affairs," in the words of Comenius's prophecy, had been returned to the hands of the Czech people; and for many of the young avant-garde writers the Russian revolution appeared as a further and perhaps even greater source of optimism. In their minds the political significance of the Russian revolution was indissolubly linked with new departures in poetry, especially with the work of Khlebnikov and Mayakovsky. It so happened that in the early 1920s Prague was also the temporary home of the most qualified interpreter of these new Russian poets, a young member of the Russian Red Cross mission in Prague called Roman Jakobson. As the personal friend of Khlebnikov and Mayakovsky he could give first-hand information about the new poetry; but still more important for the intellectual history of inter-war Czechoslovakia was the fact that Jakobson had been chairman of the Moscow Linguistic Circle and one of the central figures in the formalist school of literary criticism. With characteristic intellectual curiosity and enthusiasm he plunged into the intellectual life of Prague and soon

achieved a position of commanding importance in academic and literary circles. Nezval has described how he first met Jakobson in a seedy Prague café after midnight on a date early in 1925, and how they were soon deep in a discussion on the role of quantity in Czech poetry. Already in 1923 the Russian scholar had published his comparative study of Czech and Russian metrics which, in the words of Professor Victor Erlich, "threw a monkey wrench into a debate on the rhythmic pattern of Czech poetry which at the time was raging among native Prague poets and literary scholars." This was the first of many brilliant contributions to the intellectual life of the country which became Jakobson's second home. One of the fundamental tenets of the Moscow Linguistic Circle had been the indissoluble connexion, in poetry, between sound and meaning. "Poetry," Jakobson had said, "is language in its aesthetic function." This message was enthusiastically taken up by a young generation of Czech scholars who thus fruitfully developed the doctrines and critical methods of the Russian Formalist school at a time when a rigorous interpretation of Marxist aesthetics was causing it to wither away in its original home. The work of the Prague Linguistic Circle in the field of literary history and aesthetic theory is less well known outside Czechoslovakia than is the new approach to linguistics associated with Prague in the 1930s. The recent admirable study of *The Linguistic School of Prague* by Professor Josef Vachek devotes only a few pages to the literary side of the Circle's activities; and even though Erlich's book on Russian Formalism gives some account of Jakobson's own work in Czechoslovakia and of the specific Czech development of Formalism, there is still room for a full study of the contribution of the Prague Linguistic Circle to the study of literature.

It is nevertheless in linguistics that the influence of the Prague

school has been most profound and far-reaching. It would be unprofitable to try to estimate the relative importance in this movement of its Czech members and of the Russian scholars who cooperated with them, above all Jakobson and his friend Prince Nicholas Trubetzkoy. From its foundation on October 6, 1926, the Prague Linguistic Circle was a genuinely collective enterprise in which discussion and argument fused individual ideas into common doctrine. "Structuralism" and "functionalism" were to be the doctrines, one might almost say the battle-cries, of the Prague school. Language was to be considered as a structure, every element of which was interdependent with all the others; and these elements, as well as the languages themselves, were to be investigated in relation to the functions which they performed. If, in the 1960s, these concepts appear commonplace this is a measure of the achievement of the Prague school.

In sharp and often polemical reaction against the methods of traditional linguistics, concerned only to describe and classify speech-sounds, the Prague scholars developed the "functional phonetics" (as André Martinet was later to call it) to which they gave the name phonology. This was "that part of linguistics which deals with phonetic phenomena from the viewpoint of their function in language." The linguist need not consider every detail of the stream of sound that we call speech: he should concern himself with the way in which sounds express meaning, with those significant elements of the sound-system which the Prague school called phonemes. In the development of phonology Jakobson played a leading part, in close cooperation with Trubetzkoy.

In addition to laying the theoretical bases of this new branch of linguistic study the two scholars applied the structural and functional method to the analysis of living languages, more especially Slavonic languages. Yet while the work of the Prague school was mainly concerned with synchronic (descriptive) linguistics, several of its members, and above all Jakobson, sought to revivify historical linguistics by means of the structural method. Sound-changes were no longer to be treated in isolation as the result of more or less haphazard phonetic processes; here too the sound-system of a language was viewed as a whole and changes in the system were explained in the light of the character and function of that system. "I cannot share," Jakobson has recently written, "that antiquated superstitious fear of teleology which is still professed by some students of linguistics." It is thus not surprising that his very first lecture before the Prague Circle, delivered on January 13, 1927, dealt with "The Concept of the Sound Law and the Teleological Criterion." In his historical study of the evolution of the Russian sound-system, published in 1929, he gave a brilliant practical exemplification of his belief in the purposive element in linguistic evolution. Whatever doubts or criticisms may be raised by the details of this study, it marks a milestone in the history of linguistics.

As the 1930s drew to their close, the blissful dawn of the 1920s had given way in Central Europe, to the doubts and fears induced by Czechoslovakia's struggle for existence against the German threat. Trubetzkoy died in the summer of 1938, an indirect victim of the Nazi occupation of Vienna. The tragic anti-climax of Munich and the German invasion of Bohemia and Moravia in the spring of 1939 drove Jakobson, a Russian Jew, into a second exile. He found refuge first in Norway, then in Sweden; late in the war he crossed the Atlantic to America where the universities of Columbia and then Harvard gave him the recognition that was his due. With the departure of Jakobson from Czechoslovakia a new period of his linguistic development began. Earlier, his work in the ethnography and languages of Siberia led him to the study of Uralic and Palaeo-Asiatic languages. A new departure was the investigation of speech disorders and of children's speech, through which he sought to illuminate general laws of phonology.

Over the period of nearly a quarter of a century that Jakobson spent in the United States his linguistic views have fruitfully developed

even though the principles of the Prague school have never lost their validity for him. The most striking change is in the role played by phonetics in his approach to language. Linguists of the Prague school such as Trubetzkoy and Mathiesius sought to exclude phonetics from linguistics, regarding it as more akin to the natural sciences, and this view was no doubt also that of Jakobson, although his formulations were less dogmatic. Since the war, however, he has ever more explicitly stated that the phoneme is anchored in phonetic reality. "Phonemic analysis is a study of properties, invariant under certain transformations." These properties are the "distinctive features" which characterize the phonemes and define them as meaningful elements in the linguistic system.

In his latest work Jakobson has attempted to establish the "inherent distinctive features" found in all the languages of the world which "underlie their entire lexical and morphological stock." They are defined in terms of acoustic phonetics as twelve pairs or "oppositions" of the type "tense/lax", "voiced/voiceless", "nasal/oral", &c. This theory of phonological universals is controversial in more than one of its aspects, but like all Jakobson's work it has clarified basic issues and stimulated fruitful discussion. At the present time when the whole conception of linguistic analysis represented by the Prague school and its American devotees is under fire, being contemptuously dismissed by some as "taxonomic", it is worth recalling that Jakobson has never been satisfied with mere categorization. "Attempts to identify a phonemic category on the basis of distributional rules alone unavoidably result in an impasse." This implies the fundamental links between sound and meaning that lie at the heart of the functional approach to language of the Prague school.

The two volumes of the *Selected Writings* that have so far appeared are entitled *Phonological Studies* and *Slavic Epic Studies*. Further volumes will be devoted to grammar, to poetry, and to the comparative study of the Slavonic literatures. It is hard, at first sight, to define a unifying principle in the bewildering variety of Jakobson's interests. Yet the germ of the studies contained in the two volumes already published can be traced back to the days of the Moscow Linguistic Circle when Jakobson, together with a group of fellow-students, embarked on "the study of Moscow dialect and folklore, and a collective enquiry into the verse and language of the *byliny* recorded in the eighteenth century, allegedly by Kirila Dmlovoy." From the start language and literature were not dissociated in his studies; and, as the expeditions he made into the countryside near Moscow in the summer vacations of 1915 and 1916 have led, step by step, to the analysis, on the one hand, of the nature of language and, on the other, of the origins and nature of the epic poetry of the Slavs.

Although the *Epic Studies* contain important chapters on the Russian *byliny* and the heroic epics of the Serbs and Croats, there is no doubt that the primary interest of this book lies in the exposition of Jakobson's views on the two Russian epics *Slovo o polku Igoreve* and *Zadonshchina*. Traditionally assigned to the twelfth and fourteenth centuries respectively, these two works are the only complete specimens of medieval Russian epic literature to have survived. Unfortunately the original manuscript of the *Slovo* perished in the fire of Moscow in 1812 and we are dependent for our knowledge of it on the first printed edition, an eighteenth-century manuscript copy of the text. The fact that this work appears as something isolated among the literary survivals from the early Russian Principality of Kiev had from time to time led scholars to wonder whether it might not be a forgery, a literary hoax of the same kind as Ossian, Chatterton, and the spurious Czech manuscripts passed off as medieval works by the Romantic writer Václav Hanka. These suspicions were given more explicit form by the eminent French Slavist André Mazon who, in a book published in 1940, claimed that the

*Igor Tale* had been composed in the eighteenth century and was in part a pastiche of the *Zadonshchina* in which it shows remarkable parallels and in part a mere patchwork purporting to be Old Russian, but in reality full of old Russian modern expressions. In style it is akin to Maupassant's *Ossianic* or New York in 1943 he found evidence there a number of other references, who were interested in the study of medieval Russia, including the great Belgian Byzantinist H. Grégoire. Very soon a study group was formed at the *École Française de Bruxelles* with the aim of investigating the *Igor Tale* and problems in depth.

The result was the collected volume *La Grèce du Prince Igor*, published in New York in 1948. André Mazon's contributions to the volume (reprinted in *Selected Writings IV*) is a detailed and polemic refutation of Mazon's thesis. *The Tale* is a genuine product of the twelfth century. Kievan Rus', Jakobson argued, and the echoes of a *Zadonshchina* show its importance in the medieval Russian literary tradition. The decisive argument was linguistic. One time and again Jakobson showed that expressions claimed by Mazon to be later, medieval, or modern, in fact he paralleled in other early texts. Moreover, the style of style that characterizes *The Tale* is simply a Russian reflex of a manner that may be found in parts of Europe in the late twelfth century, from the *skalds* of Norway to the *truhars* of Poland.

The question of the authorship of the *Tale* has now become a *cliché* among Slavists. Mazon has been joined in his scepticism by the Russian historian A. A. Zimin, who, in a book on the subject, has recently argued that the *Tale* is a forgery. But his definition of romanticism is hardly more convincing. Even if we accept Mazon's thesis, it would not be a forgery in the sense in which we would still not be able to link it up to modern poetry in the way that Jakobson proposes. Indeed it is IV. In this controversy the *Tale* cannot fail to be struck by the force of Jakobson's arguments and the precision and detail of his analysis. The *Tale* is a masterpiece of the text of the *Tale* in the *byliny* of the Old Russian literature, while the arguments of his opponents are to a great extent based on surmises arising from the work of Eliot and Auden but preparation of the first edition of the *byliny* have not seriously attempted to refute Jakobson's linguistic arguments. The *Tale* is a masterpiece of the text of the *byliny* of the Old Russian literature, while the arguments of his opponents are to a great extent based on surmises arising from the work of Eliot and Auden but preparation of the first edition of the *byliny* have not seriously attempted to refute Jakobson's linguistic arguments.

In much of Jakobson's work the *Igor Tale* is analysed in a way that gives the name of "phonology" to the study of the interplay of sound and meaning, the form of rhetorical devices, the use of the euphonic variations and other devices of sound and sense which give to a poem its memorable quality. It is in this sense that some of his most important work has been done. At the same time, as a recent study of the *byliny* by May, by the Czech poet Vítězslav Nezval, shows, the *byliny* are not only a linguistic phenomenon but also a literary one. Jakobson's scholarship and his engagement with the text of the *byliny* is a masterpiece of the text of the *byliny* of the Old Russian literature, while the arguments of his opponents are to a great extent based on surmises arising from the work of Eliot and Auden but preparation of the first edition of the *byliny* have not seriously attempted to refute Jakobson's linguistic arguments.

perhaps the strongest impulse to his work in the study of the *byliny* was the discovery of the *byliny* in the *byliny* of the Old Russian literature, while the arguments of his opponents are to a great extent based on surmises arising from the work of Eliot and Auden but preparation of the first edition of the *byliny* have not seriously attempted to refute Jakobson's linguistic arguments. The *Tale* is a masterpiece of the text of the *byliny* of the Old Russian literature, while the arguments of his opponents are to a great extent based on surmises arising from the work of Eliot and Auden but preparation of the first edition of the *byliny* have not seriously attempted to refute Jakobson's linguistic arguments.

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## Letters to the Editor

### THE LANGUAGE OF POETRY

Sir, Mr. Bateson has got his holocaust wrong. To epithet I used of my introduction to *The New Poetry* was "volcanic", not "explosive". I was describing the difference between the introduction and many of the poems in the anthology. I am surprised that a diligent scholar as Mr. Bateson should have taken so long to discover the difference for himself. Can it be the difference between the "volcanic" and the "explosive" that he has found?

A. ALVAREZ.

Sir, I find it hard to understand what P. W. Bateson's piece on *The Language of Poetry* is doing in this issue. It is a study of the relations between literature and ideas, and I notice that neither in your front page introduction nor in your leading article do you make any mention of it. It would certainly have been fascinating to have had an account of the ways in which the language of poetry is different from that of prose, and the ways in which the language of poetry is different from that of science. It is not micro-mineralization of culture? Did not nuclear physics give birth to a pair of all-too-functional atomic bombs before some later-day Tennyson could make the sort of elementary technical error enshrined in his phrase "the ringing grooves of change"? Is not micro-mineralization of the world before its incorporation into a C.P. Snow novel? Plastic comes and man-made hearts gain *bravura* from use, not verse.

Mr. Bateson's piece is actually written in a good deal less fascinating. His main concern, as far as I have been able to follow, is to attempt a total characterization of modern poetry as "autonomous" (this in spite of his own point that one of the differences between modern poetry and earlier poetry is that although we can talk confidently of Augustan verse we are unable to make any such capsule definition of work written in this century). But his definition of romanticism is hardly more convincing. Even if we accept Mazon's thesis, it would not be a forgery in the sense in which we would still not be able to link it up to modern poetry in the way that Jakobson proposes. Indeed it is IV. In this controversy the *Tale* cannot fail to be struck by the force of Jakobson's arguments and the precision and detail of his analysis. The *Tale* is a masterpiece of the text of the *byliny* of the Old Russian literature, while the arguments of his opponents are to a great extent based on surmises arising from the work of Eliot and Auden but preparation of the first edition of the *byliny* have not seriously attempted to refute Jakobson's linguistic arguments.

On the question of popularization, Mr. Bateson can cite only the occasional use of scientific terminology by poets such as Simpson and Day Lewis, and the influence of *The Grapes of Wrath* on Eliot and Auden, while before that Lawrence Durrell "employs a popularized version of Einstein", so help us! I have not in Suffolk, where Mr. Bateson lives, a bookstall selling the weekly *New Scientist* or its glossier British and American counterparts? Are these not excellent examples of the way in which poetry can be popularized? Does not the very page on which your own article appears contain a publisher's advertisement for a series of "compact, elegant paperback" which will "become a meeting ground between the arts and the sciences"? Fortunately, many more people are dissatisfied with poetical indigestion and complete unawareness of scientific ideas than your critic realizes.

When Mr. Bateson juts his gaze on science fiction, he is equally pessimistic and ill-informed. He shows his prejudices early, by saying disparagingly that television plays dealing with science "tend to fall into the science fiction category". Too right they do! And when novels and stories deal with science, they too fall into the science fiction category. The term is one of definition, not abuse.

Isn't it time that the pundits of Eng. Lit. in their anxiety to defend *Sw. Civ.* took a better look at SF? Some SF writers see themselves as popularizers of science and technology; some (perhaps more usefully) try to evaluate scientific advances; some are simple space-adventurers; others are monster-masters; but these four classes are fairly easily distinguishable even from your critic's elevation—and, in fact, I find much to disagree among themselves. Most of them perform a job of digesting the knowledge of our time into an abstract fact into human experience—crudely, it must be admitted, by T.S. standards, but not notably with more encouragement from the scientific than the artistic side of the frontier.

There are four points in particular where Mr. Bateson is wide of his mark. (1) Talking of novels incorporating scientific ideas, he mentions H. G. Wells's "naïve optimistic accounts". Is he thinking of the naïve optimism of *The Time Machine*? Or the naïve optimism of *The War of the Worlds*? Or perhaps the naïve optimism of *The Island of Dr. Moreau*? Even in his most jocular short stories ("Aepyornis Island", for example, Wells was more ironic than casual critics allow. (2) Certainly American writers predominate in SF, as I believe they do in the wider world of the novel. But if Golding, Wyndham, and Heyle are counted in the English contingent as achieving (judiciously) the phrase is wrong from Mr. Bateson's lips) "a medium of success", why not Arthur Clark? Is not the *Kallipolis* Press also awarded to Julian Huxley and Bertrand Russell scientific popularization, a step in that direction? (3) It is not good enough, when discussing SF for the little it has achieved, to drag in E. M. Forster's name in order to quote him as saying that SF *has* *deprived* us of "genuinely inspired" but "often worthless". This is nonsense in itself; how can a work of fiction be worthless if it is genuinely inspired? We do not have to take—nor does Mr. Bateson—Forster's word for it, particularly since very many of the writers of SF have been day-dreaming in just such *jeux*. Moved by the imagery of their times, Forster wrote little SF. C. S. Lewis and Olaf Stapledon wrote more. S. Lewis would say better—SF, but your critic does not even mention their names. (4) It is important to note, proclaims Mr. Bateson, "that the changes introduced in SF are generally technological ones; these can be made more plausible, more convincing, more 'new science'." Owing to prejudice, ignorance of the fact that SF writers have dreamed up many new sciences, your critic forgets that he has already answered the rest of his own structure earlier, by saying, "Whereas new artefacts can have an immediate impact on our lives, this can rarely be said of scientific ideas." Science fiction is trying to deal with matters which have an immediate impact on our lives, inadequately, perhaps, but avoiding your "established hostilities". And never receding in despair!

BRIAN W. ALDIS.

## SCIENCE AND LITERATURE

Sir, "You speak in 'Limits of Literature' (July 27) of 'established hostilities' between literature and science; certainly the article on the subject by Anthony Jackson is a masterpiece of non-fraternization."

He seems to nourish an idea that science has in some way to be received and blessed by literature before it can move ahead, while at the same time claiming that "the response of literature today is not Reaction but non-reaction, almost a complete unawareness of this state of affairs." He believes that, because, confronted by the multitude of scientific and technical journals, "Poor willing fellow! But science and technology appear to be managing better without the receding literary artist than vice versa. Why should Mr. Bateson find it 'surprising' that all scientific ideas must first be mediated by the common culture? Did not nuclear physics give birth to a pair of all-too-functional atomic bombs before some later-day Tennyson could make the sort of elementary technical error enshrined in his phrase 'the ringing grooves of change'? Is not micro-mineralization of the world before its incorporation into a C.P. Snow novel? Plastic comes and man-made hearts gain *bravura* from use, not verse.

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BRIAN W. ALDIS.

## PERFORMING POETS

Sir, Before condemning all modern poetry out of hand, as Mr. Malcolm Muggeridge has done last week, it is perhaps advisable to know something about what went before it. The extent of Mr. Muggeridge's knowledge may have been well exemplified by his answer to a query as to what English poetry of the past he did like. This was, in a morning radio interview, in connection with his chairing of the sessions of the recent Poetry Festival. He said: "I like the metaphysical poets of the Eighteenth Century." Perhaps before he flies to Palestine to shoot the life of Our Lord for television, he would like to expand on this.

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MUCH BINDING

Sir, Mr. Pritchard's belief (July 13) that adhesive binding renders paperbacks unsuitable in principle for public libraries—even in Europe—is well founded indeed as far as British-made paperbacks are concerned, but it is not shared by the Swedes or the Germans, who for years have been producing paperbacks that do not disintegrate. The Swedes use highly flexible plastic-adhesive, and the Germans use a special adhesive binding for books—ever best seller novels—in their public libraries, and they seem to stand up excellently to very rough handling. Would it be possible for British paperback publishers to send a study group to Sweden? They might collaborate for this purpose with their American and French colleagues, who have even more than they to learn about paperback binding.

However, the primary, and well-known reason for the deplorable binding of so many British paperbacks is the fact that British books, hardbacks and paperbacks alike, are far too cheap. Hence, inter alia, the horrible impression of paper covered in words, used as a mere prop for the promotion of British hardbacks. If British readers could only be prevailed upon to pay realistic prices for British-made books, their publishers would no doubt be able to afford the equipment needed for making books comparable in quality with most Swedish ones.

KENNETH T. DUFFIELD.  
Östervägen 18 B, Solna 1, Stockholm, Sweden.

G. M. HOPKINS

Sir, As joint editor, with Professor N. H. MacKenzie, of the Fourth Edition of the *Poems of Gerard Manley Hopkins*, published by the Oxford University Press on July 13, I should be grateful if you would help me to alone for a wrong action which I sincerely regret. And at the same time help to prevent or remove a serious misunderstanding, by publishing the following statement and apology.

In the last two impressions (1966 and 1967) of the Penguin Poets edition of Hopkins, I, as editor, incorporated about thirty emendations: these were some of the improved readings established mainly

by Professor MacKenzie's searching study of the MS. sources—corrections which had been adopted by both editors for the Fourth Edition, and the full authentication of which appears in my collaborator's *Foreword to the Revised Text*. Unfortunately, owing to an unavoidable delay in the publication of the Fourth Edition, the corrections in the latest issues of the Penguin selection will have appeared before the standard collocation to which they owe their authority. It has always been my intention to acknowledge in the pages of the Penguin text to the Fourth Edition text, and this will certainly be done at once—and not (as I had originally intended) when some remaining desirable adjustments are completed at the next revising of the Penguin.

Meanwhile, Sir, I am most anxious that the full force and status of the O.P. standard edition, and of my fellow editors' valuable contribution to it, should in no way be impaired. Therefore, while apologizing to the O.P. Professor MacKenzie, and Penguin Books Ltd. for any trouble or misunderstanding I have caused, I must ask all readers or reviewers of both books to note that whenever new readings in the latest Penguin edition coincide with readings in the Fourth Edition, the text of the Fourth Edition is the *author's text*, and the only full authoritative text in print.

W. H. GARDNER.  
University of Natal, P.O. Box 375, Pietermaritzburg, Natal, South Africa.

## SHAKESPEARE FOR THE SIXTIES

Sir, The purpose of emendation is not "to produce a text usable by readers, actors and students," but to restore, to the best of an editor's judgment, what the author wrote. It is in this abnegation of that function that Harrison's text (even more in lineation and punctuation than in wording) is the worst among easily accessible editions. If I did not suggest "what would do instead," it would be because any alternative would be better. However, since Mr. Gomme asks, (July 20) let me now name the Signet texts. It is particularly paradoxical that Mr. Gomme should praise Harrison for enabling students to "gauge for themselves what editors have done." First of all, they need another edition in order to gauge this. Secondly, in contrast to the New Penguin, Harrison is sadly deficient in the text with his changes of where he has altered the text. This includes a number of places where the original is arguably right and the emendation accepted by Harrison wrong.

I did not say that Mr. Gomme sneered. What I said in mind was that the type of conservatism he favours tends to go with sneering at editors who rewrite Shakespeare. But if I gave the impression of making a personal charge, I apologize.

J. C. MAXWELL.  
Balliol College, Oxford.

A DAY AT THE BEACH

Sir, I'm sorry the writer of your poor little notice of Heere's *A Day at the Beach* (July 6) found the omission of punctuation marks to denote speech irritating. He seems to be in a minority of one. While translating, I found that what at first sight seemed to be a mere gimmick was, in fact, a highly effective device, since the dividing lines between what the male character, a diplomat, thinks, says to himself and says out loud are kept deliberately thin. Our use of punctuation is in itself a fairly unstable device and sometimes arbitrarily devised: really, I feel that if your reviewer had given himself more time (after all, the novella is only 25,000 words long and not 177 pages, as you state, but a mere 117), he might have developed greater sensitivity in his approach. As it is he has decided on the coat but the peg on which it is hanging; his notice tells your readers nothing at all about the novella's real theme. If his story is modest, then Heere's, the least modest of all successful newer writers in Holland, must have set the mode: the book was written over six years ago.

JAMES BROCKWAY.  
5 Menacuddale Lane, St. Austell, Cornwall.

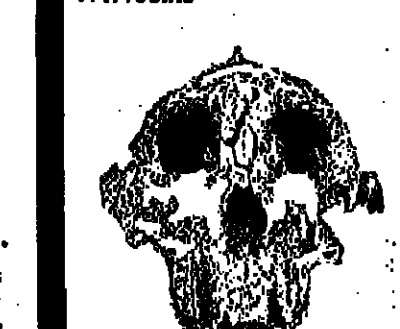
Our reviewer writes: "I appreciate Mr. Brockway's defence of the punctuation, but what is stimulating in a *Day at the Beach* is not the coat but the work as this and I was, I admit, irritated at being expected to make the effort to unravel the predictable. The 'real theme' was less my concern in the small space prescribed than the manner of its presentation; if this is weak, then theme, however worthwhile, can justify it. In describing Heere's approach as 'modest', I was thinking, of course, not solely in terms of Dutch literature, but of the fifty-seven varieties of the anti-heroic mode that readers in England and America have been accustomed to from the early 1950s onwards. Heere's book may have caused some stir in Holland on its original publication, but it would not have done so here.

(Other letters are on page 714)



## Olduvai Gorge

Volume 2: The Cranium and Maxilla, Damian of Australopithecus (*Zinjanthropus*) Boisi  
P. V. TOBIAS



Olduvai is probably the most important prehistoric site in the world. In the last decade the site has produced a mass of new material of the highest archaeological and palaeontological significance. In Volume 2 of the report on the excavations at Olduvai, Professor Tobias has undertaken the definitive analysis of the hominid remains found at the lowest level of Olduvai Gorge in 1959.

## The Making of Christian Doctrine

A Study in the Principles of Early Doctrinal Development  
MAURICE F. WILES

Mr. Wiles shows how doctrine developed in response to hostility without and heresy within the church, and considers its sources in scripture, worship and the hope of salvation.

## Bishop Westcott and the Miners

The Bishop Westcott Memorial Lecture for 1966  
G. PEST

Professor Pest discusses Bishop Westcott's work among the Durham coal miners in the 1890s and in particular his efforts to end the worst strike in the history of County Durham in 1892. He examines the causes of the miners' disputes, the worsening relations between mine owners and the men, and the practical success of Westcott's cherished principle of conciliation.

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## BRING BACK THE ID

united soon. Nor does this. GEORGES BATAILLE: *Histoire de l'œil*. 107pp. 19.90fr. *Le Mort*. 22.10fr. Paris: Pauvert. *L'Arc*, No. 32: Georges Bataille. 96pp. Aix-en-Provence, France: 7.50fr. Abroad: 10fr.

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## SARTRE AND SEX

SUZANNE LILAR : *À propos de Sarire et de l'amour*. 274 pp. Paris : Grasset. 18 fr.

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## SUNSHINE AND CEMETERIES

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de l'égalité des sexes n'est pas à trouver dans la négation massive du Féminin mais dans cette compensation que la bisexualité ne cesse de fournir à la différenciation des sexes. . . ." And so on. And on.

What Mme. Lilar never concedes, or even considers, is Sartre's unintentionally comic aspect. M. Sartre's public *persona* is not only pompous but also, as they say nowadays, a gas; and the sooner we start laughing at such portentous self-inflation, instead of taking it at its own face-value, as Mme. Lilar does, the better for us all.



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## Poets' Choice

An anthology of English poetry  
from Spenser to the present day.  
Compiled by **Patric Dickinson**  
and **Sheila Shannon**.

This delightful anthology, by  
two well-known poets, contains  
a selection of English verse writ-  
ten during the last four hundred  
years and will give pleasure to  
readers of all ages. 35/-

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Evans

## Poets' Choice

This delightful anthology, by two well-known poets, contains a selection of English verse written during the last four hundred years and will give pleasure to readers of all ages. 35/-

## Even



## STATE TRANSPORT IN THE RENAISSANCE

MICHAEL E. MALLETT: *The Florentine Galleys in the Fifteenth Century*. 293pp. Clarendon Press: Oxford University Press. £3 10s.  
ALBERTO TENENTI: *Pharcy and the Decline of Venice, 1580-1615*. Translated with an introduction and glossary by Janet and Brian Pullan. 210pp. Longmans. £2 2s.

Here we have studies focused on two state-operated (and one say nationalized) transport systems that came to grief. Dr. Mallett investigates the Florentine state-galleys, suspended in 1480, which appear to have been modelled on those of Venice. Professor Tenenti examines Venetian shipping in its declining years, exactly a century after the Florentine system collapsed. Strikingly, both transport systems declined in periods of economic depression in Europe. Dr. Mallett's volume will appeal particularly because of its connexion with Renaissance Florence — magical words. It is an important contribution to economic history, in the best tradition of what may be termed the institutional school, and it is elegantly presented and printed. Professor Tenenti's work is slighter, and suffers in comparison.

Interest in the English and Flemish wool trade pivoted forward some pioneer researches in economic history. Port returns for Southampton and Sluis, among others, turned up evidence of the western voyages of Florentine galleys in search of raw wool in the fifteenth century, and essays on the galleys have stemmed from this. Again, scholars working on the Florentine guilds naturally touched on the Sea Consuls, who operated the galley system. Dr. Mallett came to the problem from yet another way, the Pisa end. His work is entirely original in its scope, for it considers the galley system, as an institution, for the whole of its existence, and he considers the trading aspects, including the eastern voyages: an ambitious undertaking.

Dr. Mallett has worked with thoroughness and care in the remnants of the archives of the central administration of the galleys, and this administration was essentially a government department. This would have been more evident if the author had dedicated a few pages to discussing his sources: what is gleaned under the list of abbreviations and in scattered footnotes is inadequate. From the archival material, the best possible. Dr. Mallett presents an admirably clear and interesting account of the functioning of the system's administration under the Sea Consuls from 1421 to 1480, and this includes the building of galleys, great and long, and the organization of the voyages. To titillate we are promised Luigi Vettori's report—an official one made as commissary, in 1445—and Dr. Mallett has become Italianate to the extent of keeping its location up his sleeve. For testimony of the galleys in operation,

though, we now are given in full the "Diary of Luca di Maso degli Albizzi", kept by the Captain of the Galleys on a western voyage of 1429/30; once again this is the best available source. Dr. Mallett calls it a diary and implies that it was a personal one, but there are grounds for suspecting it to be something of an official logbook. From Albizzi's narrative we have a fascinating picture (provided we can read Florentine) of the problems of enlisting the crew, winning the vessels along the Arno below Pisa, and the tribulations of sea travel. The editor provides a map of the voyage, and a brief account of Albizzi's career, where the reference to Vespasiano da Bisticci's dedication errs. The reader will find Dr. Mallett's notes to the text a necessary guide, particularly for technical details: one slip may cause confusion here, for Albizzi did not begin the day at sunset, but at sunrise, and this was normal custom in Italy at the time. In nautical terms, this far is plain sailing.

Dr. Mallett seeks to show why the galley system was introduced, and why it ended. In broad terms, in the fourteenth century Florence developed as a manufacturing centre of woollen cloth, primarily. The raw materials, principally wool and dyes, were imported, and the finished cloth exported, the necessary sea transport being provided by ships of Pisa, Genoa and Venice. The war for survival against the Duke of Milan in the early fifteenth century pressed home to Florence the dangers of dependence on foreign shipping, while the sudden death of the Duke, and the break-up of his state, gave Florence the chance of capturing Pisa in 1406, and of purchasing Porto Pisano and Leghorn, the essential ports, in 1421. Here, by the way, a sketch map to replace the ineffectual Plate would be an asset. Six months after the acquisition of the ports the Sea Consuls were appointed.

Until 1465 the Florentine galleys using the ports had a monopoly, the most striking feature of which was an extra duty paid on all goods from the west not imported in the communal galleys. The rate of duty varied, but in 1429 was 8 per cent. By 1465 the system had become an anachronism, as the galleys were seen as increasingly expensive to operate, while being unsatisfactory in terms of their lack of sailing schedule. Moreover, Dr. Mallett concludes, by the 1470s there was a new factor, which was the availability of French, Basque, Catalan and even English

shipping for hire, which "were bringing in the wool on better commercial terms than the costly communal galleys could manage". Hence, "it was not just the Venetians and the Genoese who were carrying the trade between the northern seas and the Mediterranean. Florence needed no longer to depend for wool supplies on the fleets of possible economic rivals and political enemies. If her own galleys were abandoned." Accordingly, in 1480 the galleys were suspended for four years in the first instance, and never resumed service. From then on, seemingly, Florence depended on non-Italian shipping, including English. Perhaps here is the chance to develop a new field: the influence of England on the Italian Renaissance.

The thesis is presented in "Bristol fashion" by Dr. Mallett, but it is not without holes. Part of the answer seems to lie outside the central archives of the galley system. From the early 1460s the Medici Bank declined, and this was symptomatic of an economic depression which affected Florence: five silk merchants failed in one month alone of 1464. This depression, it has been argued with strong supporting evidence, was a major cause behind the revolution of 1494, and the Medici exile. It has been stated many times (with less evidence) that the fifteenth century saw the manufacture of silk cloth replace that of woollen as Florence's leading industry. Dr. Mallett's index, admittedly a little sleepy, does not list silk, though it does appear in the cargo lists from the east, which are given in his text. Dr. Mallett makes no mention of the possible consequences of the depression, or of the changes that had taken place in Florentine manufacturing in the fifteenth century.

One way to consider these two problems is to investigate the archives of private individuals and firms, whose merchandise and persons travelled on the galleys. After all, the galley system was for them. One can start at the Florentine end, and perhaps progress to the ports, where the galleys called; clearly a sample is all we could expect in one lifetime. Fortunately we have the study of Mrs. Florence Elder de Roover to point the way. It is a singularly apposite example, since Andrea Banchi (1372-1462) was a Florentine silk manufacturer whose career bestrides the important operational period of the Florentine galleys. From Banchi's papers, we find that in 1460-61 there was 3 per cent more expensive to send silk by the Ancona

route to Constantinople than by the communal galleys, which seems to contradict Dr. Mallett's thesis. Banchi certainly found it progressively difficult to sell his cloth, in spite of maintaining high quality, but was most successful at the Geneva fair, which did not require sea transport for any distance. While early in Banchi's career raw silk had been imported exclusively, by the 1460s an increasing supply came from Italy itself, notably the Florentine Romagna, which was the best obtainable from any source. There is more to transportation than transport. The reasons for the suspension of the galleys seems more complicated than Dr. Mallett allows. Dr. Anthony Molho's note, in a recent issue of *Renaissance Quarterly*, suggests convincingly that the traditional (and Dr. Mallett's) view of the Florentine conquest of Pisa, as a manifestation of bellicose irreverence (fostered by Maso degli Albizzi), needs considerable modification. In view of the *Officiale* maps of Florence, found in some references of the 1360s at least, some may doubt if the 1421 establishment was as clear-cut as it appears in this study. Dr. Mallett has enough here to occupy him for a lifetime, particularly if he investigates the port returns for the eastern voyages too.

Pirates were one of the worries of Albizzi during his voyage of 1429-30. The most spectacular loss of a Florentine galley to pirates recorded by Dr. Mallett seems to be that of 1473, when 30,000 florins' worth of merchandise, including Mentling's "Last Judgement", was lost. Piracy was a greater hazard to the Florentine galleys than shipwreck, and was particularly serious: pirates *ad infinium*; at few statistics would have made point clear. The last part of the book, which should have been longer, is the section between the two main parts. The whole is one-sided, based exclusively on Venetian and Florentine sources. Punctuation is not a strong suit of the translator, and phrases (fairly isolated) like "despite of" jar.

ANTI-EVERYTHING

JOHN W. DERRY: *The Radical Tradition*. Tom Paine to Lloyd George. 435pp. Macmillan. £2 10s.

British Radicals of the nineteenth century tended to be against everything, from the state down to the family. They were against the Establishment, the Church, the universities, the landed gentry, and almost every feature of the traditional order. Split into rival factions among themselves, they were agreed on one thing at least, that tradition was bad. It is therefore somewhat ironical to see the Radicals themselves finding their place in a tradition. They were, as Mr. Derry rightly points out, the "most provocative and original factor in English political life", but they were individualists who would not conform to the conventions of party or parliamentary procedure, or enthusiasts for fringe causes such as birth-control, women's rights, teetotalism, phrenology, spiritualism or free love. Such men are difficult to fit under one rubric, and Mr. Derry deals with individual Radicals in isolation rather than with the strands of historical continuity between them. His portrait gallery includes two Tories, William Cobbett and Lord Randolph Churchill, while it omits the full-blooded specimens such as the associates of Henry Hunt or the more militant Chartists. The ideas of some of the most influential Radicals—William Godwin, Auguste Comte, H. M. Hyndman, or for that matter Karl Marx—are completely ignored.

Radicalism has in fact been so loosely defined that Mr. Derry has absolved himself from the need to trace any more definite tradition than that of "humanitarianism" or "reform". His method is to treat the biographical details and political views of his subjects divorced from their historical context or meaning, selecting the aspects that seem to have most importance for the present day. This is fatal in any real understanding of the Radical tradition. Indeed, if Burke sacrificed the present to the past so that he "piles the phantoms and forgets the dying bird", Mr. Derry's fault is that he examines a dead carcass (presumably with thoughts about its edibility) and forgets that it belonged to a creature that once lived and soared. The first subject, Tom Paine, is said not to have grasped the significance of industrial revolution, while "his understanding of the relationship between the individual and the state was primitive, unsophisticated, and naïvely individualistic". In this way the tradition of human

## A-RHYTHMIC APES

LEONARD WILLIAMS: *The Dancing Chimpanzee*. 104pp. André Deutsch. 2s.

In this small volume Leonard Williams refutes the idea, generally accepted since Darwin's hypothesis, that the music of primitive man evolved from the love-cries and the drumming of apes. It is subtitled "a study of primitive music in relation to vocalizing and rhythmic action". Mr. Williams, the principal of the Spanish Guitar Centre in London, writes as a practical expert on music and on monkeys—he has a woolly monkey sanctuary in Cornwall. As an informed musician and naturalist he proves easily that there is little in common between these two subjects. The two main points are that apes do not have a sense of rhythm in the human way, and that they have no appreciation of rhythm in the human way. Their repeated actions have a slow one. Such things as their repeated thumping and chest-beating are very fast and easily mistaken for intentional rhythmic activity. The name of music is essentially rhythmic rather than melodic and arises not only out of emotion but also from self-conscious concepts. Music-making is therefore post-ape since apes have no rhythm and no concepts.

To elaborate these points the book is divided into two sections, the first dealing with the development of music in man, the second with the behaviour and psychology of apes. The main arguments are treated and extended in various ways. Many interesting points are made about the origins of music in man. The tonal and rhythmic elements of music, which began with rhythm and not in

imitation of animal cries, fused slowly. Tonal range extended gradually from primitive wailing as the voice was disciplined by rhythmic chanting. The first real tunes were on an unstable tone. This was well illustrated by music examples of Maori, Yana Indian and other chants, as are also primitive rhythms in a chapter on rhythm and the drum.

Although Mr. Williams denies any connexion between apes and primitive music, he does find a link between the emotive displays of apes and the ritual of primitive peoples, and therefore the origins of music. The aggression shown by primates when threatened results in shouts and displays of excitement similar to those of primitive ritual. Mr. Williams points out that the human voice is raised by emotion in intervals of fourths, fifths and octaves and therefore the diatonic scale originates in the vocal emotional outbursts which are neither musical nor rhythmic but shared by man and ape. Curt Sachs called this the pathogenic side of music and another such trend in primitive singing is shown in descending melodies. In his concluding links between man and ape the author relates this fall of the voice to his experience of the call cries of woolly monkeys.

Despite the brevity of this book there is some unnecessary repetition, for the substance of the argument is slender. Much of the discussion is ingenious and interesting even if there sometimes seems too little evidence for the statements made. The drawings by Mr. Robert Wilson are pleasing and the musical examples concise and useful. There is a glossary of musical terms and a bibliography.

## TINNING TURTLE

DAVID TRAVIS: *The Voice of the Turtle*. 203pp. Allen and Unwin. 2s.

David Travis has a flair for the unusual—whether collecting pearly nautilus in the Seychelles or catching crabs as a commercial proposition. His book he recalls how he and his brother found their submarine conch business at Mombasa dwindling to extinction following the independence of Kenya.

They decided to go to Somalia to find the world's first turtle canny and his book describes Mr. Travis's adventures on his remote and inaccessible coasts. Having determined that turtles were plentiful, he turned to the coastal towns and officials and the coastal nomads. He draws a sympathetic picture of the nomadic peoples and their sufferings in times of drought when they are forced to travel at least thirty miles a day to find pastures and water for their cattle. Children under two years of age are a threat to survival under such terrible conditions and under stress they are abandoned. Mr. Travis himself rescued two of these unfortunate but was requested by town officials to refrain from bringing in any more. Mr. Travis writes well about the problems facing this backward country. Although the turtle canning prospered, pressures from foreign political influences forced him to leave Somalia.

HOW NOW BROWN TROUT?

E. H. POOT and M. E. BROWN: *The Trout*. 286pp. 46 plates. Collins. 25s.

Trout, authoritative monographs on the natural history of the trout, by two leading experts, are now available in one volume, all that we know of trout and ecology of this native of the mountains. The life of the trout follows its life from the spawning, fertilization, growth of the alevin (as trout is called). Growth is measured by year by examination of the scales, which, because of the trout's habit of denoting annual growth by a distinct band, are the expert to determine the age of the fish. There are different species of trout, and the authors know that they are environmentally influenced. The trout has been introduced to Australia, New Zealand, South America, and elsewhere. The authors are practical biologists interested in fish biology and assessment of stocks as well as a good bibliographic list. Both text and illustrations maintain the high standard for accuracy and quality that is expected from a volume in the New Naturalist series.

all of these, as is demonstrated, growth patterns vary much with local conditions including food, and the authors have dealt comprehensively with the latter subject.

Both the physical and biological environments in Britain have been treated at some length and there are also excellent sections on anatomy and physiology, taxonomy and heredity. Nor have the authors forgotten to discuss conservation, pollution and the inevitable impact of the human population explosion on the aquatic habitat in a final chapter entitled "Trout and Man".

More technical appendices are included for the biologist interested in fish biology and assessment of stocks as well as a good bibliographic list. Both text and illustrations maintain the high standard for accuracy and quality that is expected from a volume in the New Naturalist series.

## CYRUS EXCISED

JAMES D. SMART: *History and Theology in Second Isaiah*. 304pp. Epworth Press. 35s.

In this new commentary on Isaiah, cc.35, 40-66, Professor Smart has produced a brilliant and provocative book. It is impossible to read the author's exegesis of the great unnamed prophet's theology without recognizing its brilliant originality, while most Old Testament scholars will feel a certain provocation in the magnificent confidence with which he has challenged the main positions held during the past half-century.

Almost forty years ago another American professor, C. C. Torrey, published a commentary on Second Isaiah in which he affirmed the unity of Isaiah 40-66 as to authorship and date, and assigned the work to a Palestinian origin in the fifth century B.C. He excised all references to Cyrus as the agent of liberation, and explained these as later inventions by the chronicler. Professor Smart has accepted all Torrey's positions, though not, as he himself says, for the same reasons. His interpretation of the prophet's message is wholly eschatological, and is clearly stated in this quotation: "The day of redemption that lies in the future is both a new act of creation and a new deliverance out of slavery. That it is future is very clear in cc.51-52, but these chapters are by no means unique in this. Rather, they are characteristic of the book as a whole, and merely emphasize what is everywhere true, that the action of God is proclaimed as imminent and absolutely certain, that it is prayed for, that it is seen as delayed by the sins of the nation, but never does the prophet stand beyond the event except in the imagination and confidence of faith. This fact, which unifies the book from end to end and constitutes the all-encompassing expectation in which every part of it was written, is lost from sight when the assumption is made that the prophet was stimulated into activity by the events reported in Ezra chapter I, or at least by his observation of the movement of Cyrus. If then becomes necessary to relate some of the descriptions of the day of redemption to the achievements of the Persian king and so to regard them as past. Thereupon, the thought of the prophet falls into hopeless contradictions and confusion, and his book disintegrates into bits and pieces. Only when the consistency of his eschatological hope is grasped does it become possible to see the impressive unity of his writing.

The vigour with which the author disposes of Cyrus finds characteristic expression on page 122: "Cyrus has tramped across the text of Second Isaiah with his clumsy feet long enough, robbing the prophet of his integrity and confusing the character of his message."

Another important divergence from a generally accepted view appears in the author's refusal to detach from their context the passages generally known as "The Servant" passages. He has shown considerable skill in weaving these passages into the context in which they now stand. A striking example of the way in which Professor Smart has contrived to transform the meaning of anything in the text which seems to refer to the return of the exiles from Babylon occurs in his treatment of the passage in cc.52.11 which appears to speak of the returning exiles as bearing with them the Temple vessels which Nebuchadnezzar had removed. Professor Smart will have none of this.

For him the "vessels" are symbolic; they are God's redeemed sons and daughters, carried to Jerusalem by the nations at God's signal (p. 188). In agreement with Torrey, Professor Smart insists strongly on the unity of authorship of cc.40-55 and cc.56-66, but, to support this view, he makes free use of the pruning knife and excises passages such as cc.66.15-24 which appear to be inconsistent with the style and outlook of the author of cc.40-55.

One cannot help regretting that so much valuable homiletic material should be burdened by a critical position which is hardly likely to find any more general acceptance than Torrey's did in its generation. Nevertheless, Professor Smart has written a very striking book, which deserves the most respectful consideration. While the paucity of footnotes is commendable, the absence of any indexes is to be regretted.

## EASTERN APPROACHES

MARIO RINVOLUCRI: *Anatomy of a Church*. Foreword by Peter Hammond. 192pp. Burns and Oates. 15s.

By reason of their unique blend of the self-confidence of Rome with a freedom of discipline approaching that of the Anglican tradition, the Eastern Churches have always promised to play a mediating part in the movement towards unity in the west. This role, stemming possibly from the east's geographical immunity from the upheavals of sixteenth-century Europe, has been further strengthened by the leading part played by Orthodoxy in the World Council of Churches from its very beginning and, more recently, in peace moves with Rome, initiated by Pope John and followed up by his successor.

It is three years now since Mr. Timothy Ware brought out his classic paperback history of the Orthodox Church; Mr. Rinvoluceri has produced an excellent complementary study of the state of the Greek Orthodox Church today. It is a tremendously thorough work in which he sets out at the village pump, so to speak, and examines in ever widening circles the entire Church—the town parish, monasticism together with its modern developments, the bishops and the theologians.

Apart from giving the outsider a good view of the workaday life of the Church (Mr. Rinvoluceri lived for three years in Greece), he also treats of the Church's ecumenical contacts in considerable detail. He has no illusions about the task facing the Greek Church if it is to emerge from the hyper-nationalism handed down from the revolution of 1821. Some of the younger theologians, he says, are beginning to edge their Church towards a broader view, but adds "They will have a hard job of it".

His final chapter is a trenchant reminder that Rome will have to think and pray a little harder before concluding its peace talks. Striking gestures such as the return of relics undoubtedly are, he believes, the removal of the Uniate bishop and his handful of priests would better convince the Greeks of Rome's good faith.

## THE PATTERN OF MARK

MORNA D. HOOKER: *The Son of Man in Mark*. 230pp. S.P.C.K. 38s. 6d.

Morna D. Hooker, in this latest contribution to the debate on the title, Son of man in the Gospels, has reacted conservatively to much recent writing on the subject. While some scholars go so far as to deny the authenticity of all the Son of man sayings, there is a growing area of agreement that, although using this term, Jesus referred to himself, but to an eschatological figure or concept. Dr. Hooker selects for special attention the work of A. J. B. Higgins in this country and of R. H. Fuller in America. Because they and other exponents of the form-critical and traditio-critical methods, despite a basic common ground, differ from one another in important details, she does not think that these methods are likely to produce an agreed solution to the problem. As an alternative she undertakes "to study the impact which the 'Son of man' sayings make when we look at one Gospel—St. Mark's", to discover whether the Markan sayings form a consistent pattern and, if so, whether it in any way illuminates Jesus's use of the term.

As a preparation for this task Dr. Hooker devotes Part I of her book, comprising nearly a third of the whole, to the Jewish background. She suggests that in Daniel vii the theme is that of the rejection by the nations of the authority of the righteous in Israel, their sufferings, and their ultimate vindication. This theme appears also in the inter-testamental literature, especially in the *Similitudes of Enoch*, where the individual Son of man with corporate characteristics, in the second part of the sayings are judged, not according to their classification as referring to the present, the passion, and the future, but on their Markan order, so that they may fall into their own pattern. According to Dr. Hooker, this pattern cuts across the familiar three classes of sayings, because these groups together present three aspects of the authority of Jesus as the Son of man.

More technical appendices are included for the biologist interested in fish biology and assessment of stocks as well as a good bibliographic list. Both text and illustrations maintain the high standard for accuracy and quality that is expected from a volume in the New Naturalist series.

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There is much that is unreal in the inherited habits of theological thinking and talking; often there is little sense of the idea becoming the determining reality of a life to be lived. This lively and honest book is an attempt to show where the gaps are and how they can be filled—not through a crude reductionism that empties the idea of God or the truths of religion of their essential meaning but through the acceptance of a Christian revolution, which in turn means a Christian mind "that spontaneously gives to such statements, as 'he humbled himself, taking the form of a slave', an excitingly more than ethical sense".

## THEOLOGOMACHY

DOM SEBASTIAN MOORE: *God is a New Language*. 184pp. Darton, Longman and Todd. 12s. 6d.

Dom Sebastian Moore is a Benedictine monk from Downside who now does works in a Liverpool parish. He brings to pastoral problems the insight of a scholar and the sense of urgency of the man on the job. His book, as he himself admits, is unsystematic, consisting largely of reprinted articles and sermons. But perhaps this is an advantage, for his concern is not to present a schematized defence of theological language but rather to look at the confusion that has come about in a time of unparalleled religious change—a confusion that has to be looked at and listened to in fragments here and there before the constructive work of reassembly can begin.

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## THE END OF CHRISTENDOM

DENYS HAY: *Europe in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*. 420pp. Longmans. 35s.

With this scrupulous survey of the later Middle Ages, Professor Hay makes his own contribution to the *History of Europe*, of which he is the general editor. This *History* (of which several instalments have already appeared) is designed to cover the whole course of European development (including that of England) from the fifth century until 1945. In eleven volumes of moderate size, Professor Hay has, therefore, like his collaborators in this enterprise, been set a formidable task in compressing his abundant material in such a way that the treatment may be both readable and properly informative. It is no easy matter, for example, to consider the Hundred Years' War or the Great Schism in the course of a few pages and European history in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is a particularly embarrasingly large number of topics which are both controversial and complicated.

Professor Hay's treatment of the period achieves an admirable balance, even though some of his grateful readers may at times be overwhelmed by the details of his concentrated erudition. In compiling this survey Professor Hay finds the initial advantage of collaboration with Professor Betts, who died in 1961, but the arrangement of the volume is evidently his own, and the book is to be commended as much for its method as for its matter.

The evidence on which the history of Europe in the later Middle Ages must be based is of course very extensive, and during this period new kinds of testimony were coming into prominence. The old monastic chronicles, though still informative, were declining in importance. The new secular historians, though still informative, were declining in importance. The new secular historians, though still informative, were declining in importance.

ing in importance, and the new type of historical compilation characteristic of Renaissance Italy was making its appearance. Equally significant was the fact that "the portrait had arrived", so that the student of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries "can look upon the faces of many of the great men and their intimates whose public services constitute the politics of the age".

Professor Hay has himself drawn on a wide range of authorities for his survey, and he is too good an historian to allow his readers to indulge in the fallacy that this period should be judged in the first instance either as a decline from the civilization of the high Middle Ages, or as a preparation for the age of the Renaissance and Reformation that followed. For this reason, the positive picture which is given in the opening section of this book is of especial value.

The difficulty of compression seems to have become almost insuperable in Professor Hay's chapters on the political history of the several European countries—a difficulty successfully surmounted in the concluding section of the book where Professor Hay feels himself at leisure to discuss what he severely calls "the bonds of religion", "the bonds of education, literature and art", and "the bonds of trade".

It is here that the author's judicious moderation comes into its own. He illustrates in detail, for example, the ecclesiastical abuses which called for reform at this time, without minimizing the spirituality that was to be

found in so many quarters. In like manner he emphasizes the growing cultural importance of Italy during the period, and at the same time cautions his readers against exaggerating the spread of Italian influence north of the Alps during the fifteenth century. In commenting on the origins of the Italian Renaissance he is careful, in turn, to dissociate himself from many of the most characteristic views of Burckhardt and Symonds. And in his chapter on economic conditions Professor Hay combines a description of expanding commercial techniques with a recognition that even at the end of this period "most men still depended on their locality for the necessities of life".

*Europe in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* properly eschews novelty, but embodies many of the results of most recent research, and sketches with careful scholarship the portrait of an age which only ended with the gradual abandonment of the notion of Christendom as a unifying concept. By 1500 a new world was coming into being. Professor Hay concludes:

"To that new world 'Europe' was to contribute little or nothing. It was of course 'Europe' which was still professedly Christian. But it was Christian in a way which already tolerated religious regionalism, and which was coming to accept Christian ideals modified by the humanist and the reformer very different from those which had been the basis of the medieval Church. It was an age of transition, and in this way the tradition of human

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